

Message Text

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ACTION IO-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-11 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-11
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
/107 W

-----119712 280653Z /23

O 280640Z SEP 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3703

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 03858

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNSC, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: MEETING OF WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN
MINISTERS SEPTEMBER 27

1. THE WESTERN FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS MET PM SEPTEMBER
27 WITH THE FIVE'S AMBASSADORS FROM PRETORIA AND THE
CONTACT GROUP. THE MEETING PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR
THE PRETORIA AMBASSADORS TO GIVE THEIR FIRST-HAND ASSESS-
MENTS OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA REGARDING NAMIBIA
AND FOR AN INITIAL DISCUSSION OF NEXT STEPS WITH SOUTH
AFRICA.

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2. THE PRETORIA AMBASSADORS SHARED THE ASSESSMENT THAT IT
IS MOST UNLIKELY THAT A NEW SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER
(WHOMEVER IT MAY BE) WILL BE ABLE TO POSTPONE FURTHER
OR CANCEL THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS. AMBASSADOR EDMONDSON
AND FRG AMBASSADOR EICK BOTH SUGGESTED THAT IF THERE IS TO
BE ANY HOPE OF TURNING THE SOUTH AFRICANS AROUND WE MUST

PRODUCE TWO THINGS: (A) CONCESSIONS SUFFICIENT TO BE PORTRAYED PUBLICLY BY SOUTH AFRICA AS A VICTORY; AND (B) A CREDIBLE THREAT OF SUBSTANTIAL ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO SOUTH AFRICA EMPHASIZED THAT SOUTH AFRICA DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE FIVE WOULD IMPOSE SANCTIONS. IN RESPONSE TO THIS COMMENT, FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER DE GUIRINGAUD REMARKED: "WE MUST THEREFORE GIVE A CLEAR INDICATION THAT WE WILL NOT OPPOSE SANCTIONS."

3. THIS IN TURN PROMPTED UK AMBASSADOR DAVID SCOTT TO MAKE KNOWN HIS DOUBTS OF THE WISDOM OF TAKING DRAMATIC ACTION TO INDICATE SANCTIONS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THIS MIGHT ONLY SUCCEED IN DRIVING SOUTH AFRICA FURTHER INTO THE LAAGER. HE PROPOSED THAT WHAT THE FIVE SHOULD EXPLORE IS WHETHER THERE MIGHT BE SOME WAY OF CONVINCING SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM TO "RETURN TO THE LETTER OF THE PROPOSAL". THE SOUTH AFRICANS FEEL, HE ADDED WITH APPARENT SYMPATHY, THAT "WE HAVE ALLOWED THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO DIVERGE SLIGHTLY FROM OUR PROPOSAL". GENSCHER (FRG FOREIGN MINISTER) THEN SUGGESTED THAT THE FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS KEEP IN MIND THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR MEETING SHORTLY WITH THE NEW SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER. WE COULD HAVE THAT MEETING GENSCHER EXPLAINED WITHOUT FIRST DECIDING ON SANCTIONS.

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4. UK FOREIGN SECRETARY DAVID OWEN THEN PURSUED THE NOTION OF CONCESSIONS TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND FOCUSED ON THE INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT WHICH WALDHEIM IS TO MAKE WHEN HE FORMALLY PRESENTS HIS REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. OWEN ARGUED THAT THE STATEMENT MADE BY WALDHEIM SHOULD BE DIFFERENT FROM THE DRAFT WHICH WE HAD PREVIOUSLY PASSED TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS (PRIOR TO THEIR REJECTION OF THE REPORT). OWEN ARGUED THAT WHATEVER THE NEW LANGUAGE, IT SHOULD DIFFER FROM THE PAST WORDING WHICH HAD EVIDENTLY NOT BEEN PERSUASIVE. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT CHANGING LANGUAGE WOULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM WITH SOUTH AFRICA, BUT OWEN PERSISTED IN HIS DETERMINATION TO EXPLORE PRESENTATIONAL DEVICES, SUGGESTING THE INCLUSION IN THE STATEMENT OF ASSURANCES OF CONSULTATION ON COMPOSITION AND DEPLOYMENT OF THE UNTAG MILITARY COMPONENT AS WELL AS THE POSSIBILITY OF A VISIT BY AHTISAARI TO NAMIBIA TO CONFER AGAIN WITH STEYN. SECRETARY VANCE CONCLUDED THAT PORTION OF THE CONVERSATION BY NOTING THAT SOME OF THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD BE MEETING AT 10 PM THAT SAME EVENING (SEPT 27) WITH AHTISAARI AND UN UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL URQUHART TO DISCUSS WALDHEIM'S INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT.

VANCE ADDED THAT THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD DO ITS BEST TO OBTAIN WHATEVER ADDITIONAL ASSURANCES AND LANGUAGE CHANGES MIGHT BE AGREEABLE AND SUGGESTED THAT THIS MATTER BE LEFT TO THE CONTACT GROUP TO WORK ON.

5. OWEN THEN REPORTED ON THE MEETING WHICH HE HAD HAD EARLIER IN THE DAY WITH BRIAN O'LINN OF THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT. OWEN STATED THAT THE NNF HAD REITERATED THEIR SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSAL AND THEIR DESIRE TO BOYCOTT THE DECEMBER ELECTIONS BUT HAD ALSO EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN THAT IF SOUTH AFRICA GOT AWAY WITH THE ELECTIONS, THE NNF WOULD BE FINISHED. THE NNF IS

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ADDITIONALLY FRUSTRATED, OWEN STATED, BY THE FACT THAT DESPITE TRAVELLING TO NEW YORK TO EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR OUR PROPOSAL THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO SPEAK BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE OTHER FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS AGREED WITH OWEN THAT ALL NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PARTIES SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO BE HEARD BY THE COUNCIL IF SWAPO IS HEARD.

CANADIAN CONTACT GROUP MEMBER LAPOINTE POINTED OUT HOWEVER
THAT WHILE ALL OF THE FIVE AGREED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF THE
RIGHT TO SPEAK, IT IS VERY UNLIKELY THAT WE COULD WIN A
PROCEDURAL VOTE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THAT QUESTION.
LAPOINTE STRESSED THAT IF THE QUESTION WERE PUT TO A VOTE
AND WE LOST, THE CONCEPT OF UN IMPARTIALITY WOULD BE
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BADLY DAMAGED. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SUGGESTED THAT THE
CONTACT GROUP CONSULT WITH VARIOUS SECURITY COUNCIL
MEMBERS ON THIS MATTER IN THE MORNING AND SEE WHAT COULD BE
WORKED OUT. YOUNG

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